

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15
USIA-06 EB-07 ACDA-07 OMB-01 TRSE-00 CU-02 SCA-01
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P 101741Z JUN 77
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3977
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY
ALL EC CAPITALS
USMISSION NATO
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 PARIS 17170

EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR FR UR
SUBJ: FIRST QUAI COMMENTS ON GUIRINGAUD'S MOSCOW TRIP

REF: (A) PARIS 16495; (B) MOSCOW 8074

1. SUMMARY: INITIAL QUAI DEBRIEFING ON DE GUIRINGAUD'S MOSCOW TRIP SUGGESTS THAT FRENCH ARE VERY PLEASED WITH UNEXPECTEDLY CORDIAL ATMOSPHERE AND SERIOUSNESS OF CONVERSATIONS. HOWEVER, CONTRARY TO SOME PRESS REPORTS, THE NEGOTIATIONS ON THE "POLITICAL DECLARATION", AS WELL AS OTHER DOCUMENTS TO BE ISSUED DURING BREZHNEV'S VISIT HERE, ARE STILL NOT QUITE FINISHED -- EVEN THOUGH QUAI EUROPEAN DIRECTOR ANDREANI REMAINED IN MOSCOW TILL JUNE 9 FOR THIS PURPOSE. END SUMMARY.

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2. QUAI DEPUTY DIRECTOR FOR SOVIET AND EASTERN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS JEAN-PIERRE BEAUCHATAUD, WHO RETURNED TO PARIS WITH DE GUIRINGAUD JUNE 7, OFFERS FOLLOWING PRELIMINARY COMMENTS ON RESULTS OF TRIP. SINCE HE HIMSELF HAS NOT YET HAD OPPORTUNITY TO HEAR ANDREANI'S IMPRESSIONS OF DETAILS OF SUBSEQUENT NEGOTIATIONS, HE

SUGGESTS WE NOT DRAW CONCLUSIONS UNTIL MORE INFORMATION BECOMES AVAILABLE.

3. ATMOSPHERE:

BEAUCHATAUD CONFIRMED FRENCH PRESS REPORTING THAT ATMOSPHERE WAS VERY, INDEED SURPRISINGLY, CORDIAL AND THAT SOVIETS MADE EVIDENT EFFORT TO SHOW SERIOUS INTEREST IN DISCUSSIONS. THUS, FOUR RATHER THAN THE ORIGINALLY FORESEEN TWO WORKING SESSIONS WERE HELD, IN ADDITION TO A THREE QUARTER HOUR TETE-A-TETE BETWEEN DE GUIRINGAUD AND GROMYKO, AND A MEETING OF OVER AN HOUR WITH BREZHNEV, ATTENDED ONLY BY MINISTERS AND THE TWO AMBASSADORS. EVEN SO, GIVEN TIME REQUIRED FOR TRANSLATIONS, TIME DID NOT PERMIT A FULL EXCHANGE ON A NUMBER OF KEY QUESTIONS, INCLUDING SOME LIKE ASIA WHICH WERE MENTIONED IN COMMUNIQUE.

CORDIAL APPROACH WAS ALSO EVIDENT IN GROMYKO'S TOAST (TEXT LE MONDE JUNE 8) WHICH SPEAKS IN WARM GENERALITIES OF THE "LONG ROUTE" TRAVERSED BY FRANCE AND THE USSR IN THE LAST TEN YEARS (AND MENTIONS SPECIFIC PROBLEM AREAS, LIKE AFRICA AND MIDDLE EAST, ONLY IN BROAD-BRUSH TERMS. BY CONTRAST, BEAUCHATAUD SAID WRYL, DE GUIRINGAUD'S TOAST WAS NOTICEABLY MORE DETAILED AND HARDHITTING, WITH REFERENCES TO "DIFFERENCES OF OPINIONS"; TO BERLIN AND THE NEED FOR "SCRUPULOUS RESPECT FOR THE QA"; TO THE "HUMAN ELEMENT" IN DETENTE; AND IN PARTICULAR TO THE NEED NOT

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TO LIMIT DETENTE TO EUROPE, SINCE DETENTE WOULD NECESSARILY BE "AFFECTED" IF OTHER CONTINENTS, LIKE AFRICA, BECAME THE "BATTLEFIELD."

4. BREZHNEV'S HEALTH:

ONLY SOUR NOTE STRUCK IN FRENCH PRESS CONCERNS ALLEGEDLY POOR STATE OF BREZHNEV'S HEALTH, HEARING ABILITY AND ATTENTION SPAN. BEAUCHATAUD SAID THIS WAS OVERDRAWN. BREZHNEV TOOK QUITE A WHILE TO WARM UP TO CONVERSATION, DRINKING SEVERAL CUPS OF TEA. HOWEVER HE WAS THEN AT EASE, FULLY IN CHARGE AND MOST ANIMATED WHEN SPEAKING ON THE IMPORTANCE OF DISARMAMENT. BEAUCHATAUD ADMITTED, HOWEVER, THAT BREZHNEV WAS SHOWING OBVIOUS SIGNS OF AGE, AND WAS CLEARLY SLOWER AND LESS RESPONSIVE THAN IN PAST.

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5. PREPARATIONS FOR BREZHNEV VISIT:

CONVERSATIONS ON THIS TOPIC WENT WELL. EVEN SO,
NEITHER THE "POLITICAL DECLARATION" NOR THE TEXT ON
NON-PROLIFERATION, WHICH IS TO BE APPENDED WERE
FINISHED DURING DE GUIRINGAUD'S OR SUBSEQUENTLY DURING
ANDREANI'S PROLONGED STAY. BEAUCHATAUD SAID THAT HANG-
UPS ARE NOT NECESSARILY ON MOST IMPORTANT POINTS.
HOWEVER, HE DECLINED TO GO INTO DETAILS AS TO RESULTS
SO FAR IN SECTIONS ON DETENTE, CSCE, NON-PROLIFERATION
AND DISARMAMENT, BUT SINGLED OUT DIFFICULTIES
ENCOUNTERED IN PORTION REGARDING AFRICA. HERE GOF WANTS
EMPHASIS ON PROGRESS ON AFRICAN "SELF-DETERMIN-
ATION," WHILE SOVIETS WANT TO EMPHASIZE
"NON-INTERFERENCE" BY OUTSIDE (I.E. CAPITALIST) POWERS.
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THE ECONOMIC TEXTS TO BE SIGNED DURING BREZHNEV'S

VISIT, AS WELL AS PROTOCOL PLANS ARE REPORTEDLY IN BETTER SHAPE. BEAUCHATAUD CONFIRMS BREZHNEV WILL STAY AT RAMBOUILLET AND WILL COME TO PARIS ONLY FOR ELYSEE DINNER AND SOVIET LUNCH AT NEW SOVIET EMBASSY BUILDING.

6. TOUR D'HORIZON OF INTERNATIONAL ISSUES:

CURIOUSLY, BEAUCHATAUD SAID DETENTE AND DISARMAMENT WERE NOT DISCUSSED AT GREAT LENGTH. FRENCH TOOK UP BERLIN; THE NORTH-SOUTH CONFERENCE, ON WHICH DE GUIRINGAUD REPORTED AT SOME LENGTH; AND AFRICA, WHICH APPARENTLY TOOK UP SOME CONSIDERABLE TIME. ON AFRICA, DE GUIRINGAUD MADE CLEAR IMPORTANCE OF ATTACHES TO SOVIET NON-INTERFERENCE ON THAT CONTINENT; APPARENTLY GOT SOVIET REAFFIRMATION OF THEIR SUPPORT FOR INDEPENDENCE OF DJIBOUTI; AGAIN EXPLAINED FRENCH ACTIONS IN ZAIRE; AND ELICITED COMMENT FROM SOVIETS THAT THEIR AGREEMENT WITH ETHIOPIANS WAS NOT TREATY. ON CSCE, VORONTSOV, WHO SAT NEXT TO BEAUCHATAUD, SEEMED MUCH MORE RELAXED THAN FRENCH HAD EXPECTED, AND DID NOT REPEAT NOT STRESS IDEA OF "PRIOR POLITICAL CONCEPTION."

ON THE MIDDLE EAST, BEAUCHATAUD SAYS, GROMYKO CONTINUES TO UNDERLINE IMPORTANCE OF A GENEVA CONFERENCE AND THINKS IT CAN BE HELD DESPITE ISRAELI ELECTIONS. DIFFERENCE REMAINS ON QUESTION OF FRONTIERS. SOVIETS STUCK TO 1967 LINES. FRENCH THOUGHT MINOR RECTIFICATIONS OF FRONTIERS WERE POSSIBLE.

7. MEETING WITH MARCHAIS:

AS TO MUCH-DISCUSSED QUESTION OF LIKELYHOOD OF BREZHNEV MEETING WITH MARCHAIS, BEAUCHATAUD SAID THAT THERE WERE NO PROVISIONS IN PROGRAM OF VISIT FOR SUCH

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A MEETING AND THAT, PERSONALLY, BEAUCHATAUD THOUGHT THIS WAS NOW UNLIKELY. HE DECLINED TO SPECULATE WHETHER BREZHNEV ELEVATION TO PRESIDENCY OF PRESIDUM WAS A FACTOR AS THOUGHT WIDELY IN FRENCH PRESS. ELYSEE INVITATIONS WERE SENT OUT, REFERRING TO HIM ONLY AS SECRETARY GENERAL AND MEMBER OF PRESIDUM.

8. COMMENT: WE EXPECT FURTHER AND MORE DETAILED INFORMATION ON VISIT AND BREZHNEV TRIP PREPARATIONS WILL BECOME AVAILABLE IN COMING DAYS HERE AND IN MOSCOW. WE WILL THEREFORE ONLY NOTE GENERAL IMPRESSION THAT DE GUIRINGAUD APPARENTLY WAS MUCH BETTER RECEIVED THAN WAS EXPECTED HERE. INTERESTINGLY, FRENCH

PRESS DOES NOT ATTRIBUTE THIS TO POSSIBLE FRENCH
CONCESSIONS WHICH MAY BE IN THE OFFING FOR BREZHNEV --
IN ADDITION TO EXPECTED LOW PRFILE AT BELGRADE --
ALTHOUGH THESE ARE NOT BE DISCOUNTED. RATHER MOST
AUTHORITATIVE LE MONDE ANALYSIS, WRITTEN BY MICHEL TATU,
ATTRIBUTES APPARENT NEW SOVIET EFFORTS TO COZY UP
TO FRENCH AS REFLECTIONOF THEIR CONCERNS OVER CARTER
ADMINISTRATION POLICIES, PARTICULARLY ON HUMAN RIGHTS,
IN COMPARISON TO WHICH FRENCH NO LONGER LOOK QUITE SO
BAD. WE THINK THIS TOO SIMPLE AND PREFER TO WAIT AND
SEE.
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